
Coins of the Macedonian Kingdom in the Interior of Balkans

Their Inflow and Use in the Territory of the Scordisci

Dubravka Ujes

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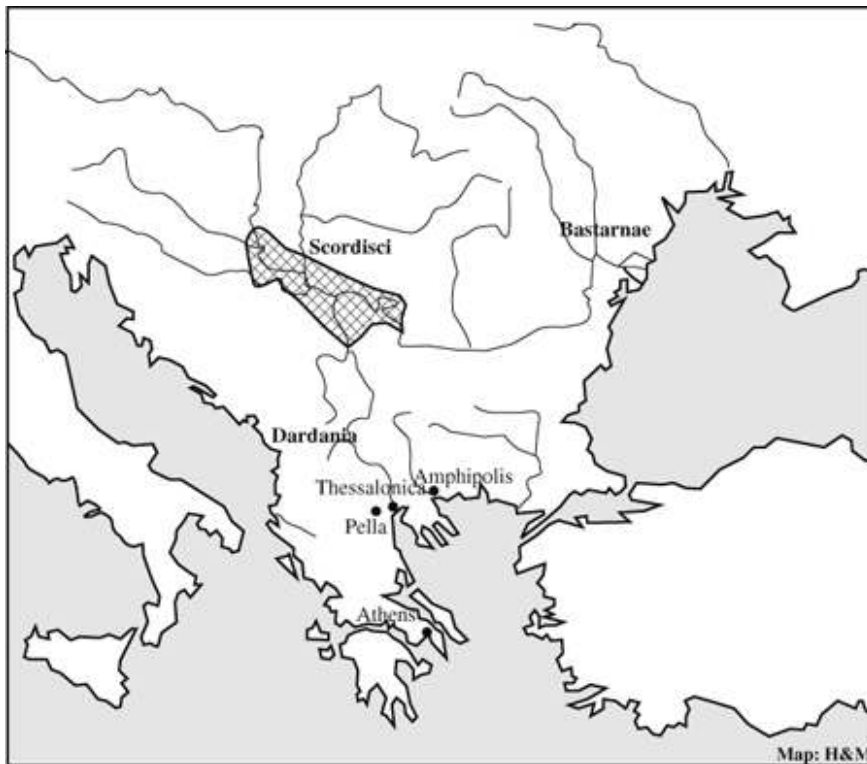
Dubravka Ujes

- 1 The widespread diffusion of coins issued by the Macedonian kingdom throughout the Balkans provides valuable evidence for the economic, political and social history of the whole peninsula. From the expansion of the Macedonian kingdom during the reigns of Philip II and Alexander the Great in the second half of the 4th century B.C. until its dismembering by the Romans in 167 B.C., the inflow of the Macedonian royal coinage continually played the principal role in the monetarization of the economies of the tribes in the interior of the Balkans. The objective of this article is to examine the emergence of this coinage in the north-central part of the Balkan Peninsula, i.e. in the territory of the Scordisci, attempting to integrate the numismatic material into the study of the political and economic history of the tribes in the interior of the Balkans.

1. The Scordisci

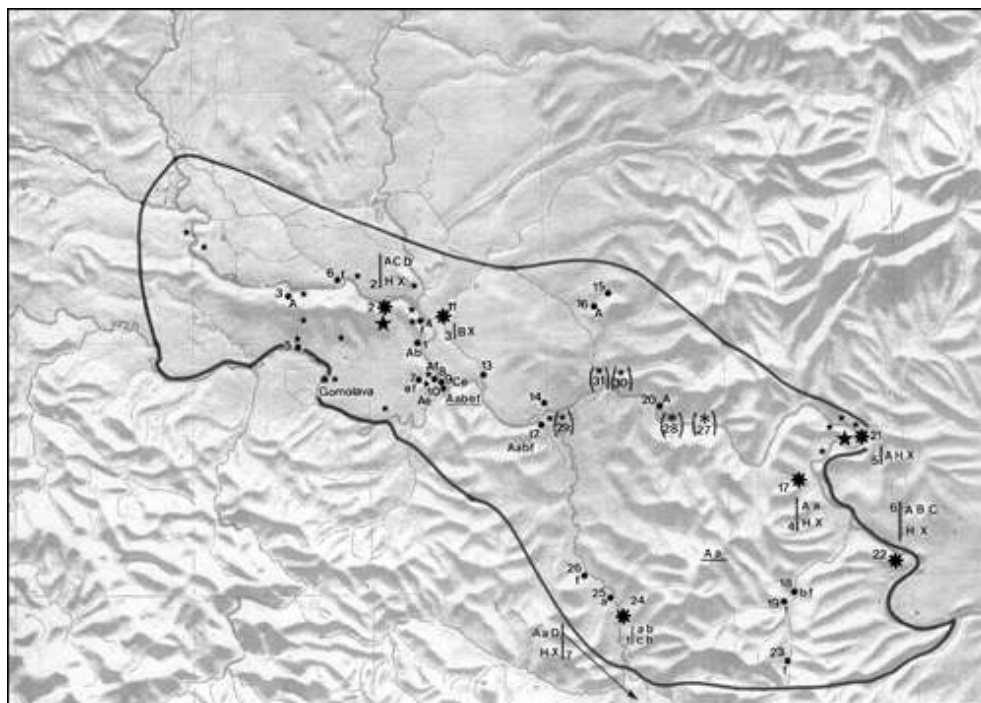
- 2 The Scordisci were Celts, who after the great invasion and plundering of Macedonia and northern Greece in 280-279 B.C. returned to the north of the Balkans and settled in the broad valleys of the Danube and Great Morava rivers¹. After the middle of the 3rd century they firmly established themselves in the territory delineated in Maps 1 and 2; after their defeat in 85 B.C. by L. Cornelius Scipio Asiagenes, they withdrew *en masse* to the north of the Danube². From the first half of the 2nd century B.C., they became so powerful and belligerent that even the Dardanian regions situated between them and Macedonia fell under their control. Archaeological evidence reveals that they established several strongholds and settlements along the rivers on the natural route towards the southern Balkans as far south as Scupi (modern Skopje), where there previously had been a Dardanian fortress situated close to the northern frontier of Macedonia.

Map 1. Territory of the Scordisci



- 3 Thus, from the second half of the 2nd century B.C. they could not be stopped from traversing these territories in their plundering expeditions into the Roman province of Macedonia in the south³. In their new homeland, the Scordisci intermingled with some indigenous ethnic groups and were sometimes mentioned as “the Celts who live among the Illyrians and Thracians”⁴. Yet their distinctive culture most strongly influenced the local milieu by introducing the Late Iron Age culture of the late La Tène type, with features typical of the Celtic and Celticized populations spread over a vast region from the British Isles to Asia Minor⁵. That the Scordisci lived in fixed abodes is indicated by the archaeological remains of numerous villages, several larger settlements with earthen ramparts (such as Židovar, Gomolava, Gradina-on-the-Bosut, Slankamen) and necropoleis, which are densely clustered along the Danube and Great Morava rivers. The geographer Strabo mentions that they had two towns, Heorta and Capedunum, which still have not been identified with any of the known large settlements⁶; however, the extant literary sources provide no information about the political organization and economic structure of the Scordiscan society.
- 4 Around the end of the 3rd century B.C., the Scordisci started issuing their own local coinages imitating the types of Philip II of Macedon. These coinages had a limited volume of production and a restricted area of circulation, so their finds are not numerous and occur mostly in their own territory and in the neighbouring territories of other Celtic or Celticized tribes⁷. Conversely, the finds of Macedonian coins in the territory of the Scordisci are more numerous than the finds of any of the Scordiscan issues (see Map 2).

Map 2. Hoards and single finds of coins in the territory of the Scordisci



Legend

- A – silver coins of Alexander the Great (these coins appear the most frequently)
- a – bronzes of Alexander the Great
- B – silver of Philip II
- b – bronzes of Philip II
- C – silver of Philip III
- c – bronzes of Philip III
- D – silver of Demetrius Poliorcetes
- e – bronzes of Cassander, Pyrrhus and Antigonus Gonatas
- f – bronzes of Philip V and Perseus, and the 'Autonomous coinage without king's name' (ca. 188/7-168 B.C.)
- H, h – silver and bronze of other Hellenistic issuers

The same symbol – a star – indicates all the finds of the contemporaneous barbarian coins datable to the end of the 3rd and first half of the 2nd century B.C., Scordiscan and other. An isolated coin is indicated by a smaller, and a hoard by a bigger star.

The contents of hoards 1-7 and the finds from wider areas which cannot be plotted with precision, such as those from the District of Belgrade, Eastern Serbia and "Southern Serbia", are indicated as groups.

The plotting of finds of barbarian coins is based on the maps provided in C. PREDA, 1973 and P. POPOVIĆ, 1987.

2. An outline of the study

- 5 The presence of a considerable quantity of foreign coins in a distant region poses the questions of "which historical and economic factors prompted their movement" and "what was the significance of these coins in the barbarian milieu and which effect they had on the local society and economy". The massive diffusion of the Macedonian royal coins into foreign lands depended on the large-scale political plans and military activities of the Macedonian Kingdom and had the greatest impact on the Balkan tribes and the key role in initiating their local coinages. This article aims to assess the extent and character of this impact on the economy and society of the Scordisci, about which still very little is known.

- 6 I shall first present the complete body of the numismatic material, on which this study is based. Next, I shall examine the distribution pattern of all the finds, paying attention to its correspondence with the distribution pattern of the Scordiscan archaeological sites. Then I shall focus on the large coin hoards and attempt to determine when and why the Macedonian royal coins arrived in the territory under study, thus putting the whole interaction between the Macedonian kingdom and the Scordisci in a more precise historical setting, with its economic implications. Further, I shall consider the types of use of the Macedonian royal coins by the Scordisci. Then I shall consider the question of demonetization of these coins, and the re-use of their silver for the production of the local Scordiscan coinages. In conclusion, I shall attempt to place the interaction between the Macedonian kingdom and the Scordisci within the wider framework of the economic history of the Hellenistic period.

3. The numismatic material and the pattern of its distribution

- 7 The body of evidence upon which this study is based consists of finds of hoards and isolated coins with a recorded provenience, which permit the plotting of them on a topographical map⁸. As usual for a topographic survey, it might be questioned to what extent this evidence and the topographic picture in Map 2 are complete and how accurately they reflect the original pool of coinage circulating in the Scordiscan territory. Several factors might have had a negative effect on the survival and recovery of coins from antiquity to the most recent past. Such losses of information may affect the completeness and representativeness of the material and decrease the possibilities of its interpretation⁹. The most general remark is that the extant material is only a minute fraction of the original pool of material, most of which has been suppressed in various ways and thus remains unnoticed and unrecorded. Hence the extant material might display a distorted picture, thus leading to invalid inferences. However, such reduction does not necessarily involve distortion and it may be assumed that the general validity of the accumulated material is high enough to justify the effort of studying it¹⁰. Another remark is that it is commonly assumed that two types of finds – coin hoards and isolated coin finds – convey information about different kinds of coin use, i.e. about different spheres of economic activities:
- 8 – coin hoards should indicate the sort of coinage used in large transactions and more valuable economic dealings, presumably not of a customary everyday frequency; thus, the coins in them have been intentionally selected from the pool of available coins, and cannot represent the whole¹¹;
- 9 – isolated coin finds should indicate the sort of coins which constituted currency, though their value is too often considerably diminished by the action of disturbing factors¹².
- 10 Hence the two types of finds may often consist of very dissimilar coins. However, they are like two sides of the same coin, each side conveying complementary information concerning the economic activities in a certain society.
- 11 Aiming to minimize the effects of the negative factors and make the most of the available material, I shall correlate the information provided by both kinds of finds discovered in the territory of the Scordisci and datable from the middle of the 3rd to the second half of the 2nd c. B.C., in the expectation that a considerable amount of information concerning the questions of their economy and society may be extracted¹³.

- 12 The numismatic material comprises coins of the following kings of Macedonia: Philip II (359-336 B.C.), Alexander III (336-323 B.C.), Philip III Arrhidaeus (323-316 B.C.), Cassander (306-297 B.C.), Demetrius I Poliorcetes (294-288 B.C.), Antigonos Gonatas (277-239 B.C.), Philip V (221-179 B.C.) and Perseus (179-168 B.C.), as well as the specimens of “autonomous coinage without king’s name” (issued 188-187-168-167 B.C.), which appear throughout the Scordiscan territory in seven hoards and as numerous isolated finds. They are presented in Lists 1 and 2 and their geographical positions illustrated in Map 2, so that only a brief commentary follows, except for certain cases of relevance for the entire documentary base.
- 13 The coins of Philip II occur either as small bronzes or as large tetradrachmas, while his smaller silver denominations are not recorded. The tetradrachmas occur only in the large hoards from Baranda and Slana Bara (11, 22; see the Table of coin hoards), in which they are comparatively very few, the bulk being tetradrachmas of much later date: those of Alexander III and the early Hellenistic kings, and the barbarian imitative coinages. The bronzes occur as isolated finds (1, 12, 18 and in the District of Belgrade) and in the hoard from Gloždar (24), in which they are accompanied by bronze coins of Alexander the Great and Philip III Arrhidaeus and of the West Pontic cities.
- 14 The coins of Alexander III are by far the most numerous, in accordance with their abundant production during his life and after his death¹⁴. These tetradrachmas, which were issued in Macedonia and throughout the Hellenistic east, occur in the large hoards from Krčedin, Jabukovac, Hinova, Slana Bara (2, 11, 17, 21, 22) and “Southern Serbia”, in which they constitute the majority of the royal coinages. They also occur as isolated finds (3, 16, 20). The drachmas occur rather frequently, both in the hoard from “Southern Serbia”, and as isolated finds (1, 8, 10, 12, 16, District of Belgrade, Eastern Serbia); they belong to both lifetime and posthumous issues, mostly of the Asia Minor mints. The bronze coins occur in the hoard from Gloždar (24) and as single coins (12, 25, District of Belgrade, Eastern Serbia).
- 15 Some finds of Alexander’s gold and silver coins cannot be included in the body of evidence because of doubts regarding the chronology of their importation and deposition; they are nonetheless mentioned at the end of List 2 for the sake of completeness of the evidence. The chronology of the inflow of these coins cannot be plausibly determined. It is possible that they arrived in this region almost immediately after they had been issued and ceased to be used soon thereafter, but much later dates might also be proposed. The burial dates proposed for the hoards of staters from Drencova (27) – “ca. 325-320 B.C. or later”–, and of tetradrachmas from Sopotul Vechi (28) – “late 4th c. B.C.” – are very early¹⁵. However, these hoards were dispersed immediately after they were discovered in the 19th century and their exact contents remain unknown – the coins might belong to the late 3rd century posthumous issues as well, or to even later issues of the Pontic cities¹⁶. Hence caution in determining their burial dates is necessary, and especially because of two additional reasons: the region of discovery yielded abundant archaeological finds of the Scordiscan epoch, and other hoards containing Alexander’s coins from the Scordiscan territory may be dated only considerably later¹⁷.
- 16 The hoard from Drencova contains gold staters, for which reason it is even more difficult to propose any plausible date for its deposition in the total absence of details regarding the coins. The intrinsically high value of gold coins may prolong their use as non-monetary objects for centuries after they have been issued. For example, the find

from the site “Lusarije” near Leskovac in the Southern Morava valley contained gold coins of Philip II and Alexander III together with gold jewelry clearly datable to the early 4th c. after Christ¹⁸. It may be noted that images of Alexander III were used as good luck charms in Late Antiquity, as stated in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* written around the end of the 4th c. after Christ: “... it is said that those who wear the likeness of Alexander carved in either gold or silver are aided in all that they do”¹⁹. Thus, finds of gold coins do not seem helpful in appraising the monetary and economic matters studied here. This equally concerns the single finds of Alexander’s gold coins, grouped in the surroundings of Požarevac and on the opposite bank of the Danube in the surroundings of Vračevgaj (29-31; in fact, a suspicion might arise that a dispersed hoard yielded all these coins)²⁰.

- 17 The coins of Philip III Arrhidaeus are found mostly in hoards: bronzes in Gloždar (24), and tetradrachmas in Krčedin, Slana Bara (2, 22) and “Southern Serbia”. Demetrius Poliorcetes’ tetradrachmas occur in the hoards from Krčedin (2) and “Southern Serbia”. The Alexander-type tetradrachmas issued during the reign of Antigonos Gonatas occur in the hoards from Jabukovac (17; 2 specimens) and “Southern Serbia” (5 specimens); no specimen of his “Pan” and “Poseidon” issues has been recorded. There are no silver coins of later Macedonian kings, and no hoards of their bronzes. Isolated bronze coins of Cassander (9, District of Belgrade), Pyrrhus (10), and Antigonos Gonatas (7, District of Belgrade) are not frequent. On the other hand, the bronze coins issued during the reigns of Philip V and Perseus occur rather frequently (4, 6, 7, 12, 18-20, 23, 26, District of Belgrade). Among them, the “autonomous” coins without king’s name are occasionally more frequent than the royal coins²¹.
- 18 Isolated coins are frequently found near the archaeological sites of the La Tène epoch, mostly settlements, such as Novi Banovci (Roman *Burgenae*), Susek, Surduk (*Rittium*), Kapela, Klisina, and the center of Zemun (*Taurunum*)²². However, a direct connection between the sites and the coin finds can rarely be fully approved and only a few coins can be considered as real site-finds. The surroundings of Sremska Mitrovica, Pančevo, Kovin, Vršac, Kostolac (*Viminacium*), as well as the District of Belgrade (*Singidunum*), provided numerous La Tène sites of different types and sizes and isolated archaeological finds of this epoch, but no coin find can be directly linked to them²³. The hoards from Krčedin and Gloždar were discovered close to the La Tène archaeological sites, too; there is a contemporary site near the village of Hinova, although it cannot be directly related to the hoard found near it²⁴.
- 19 The peripheral areas of the Scordiscan territory display the most frequent occurrence of both types of finds. In the west, the region of Srem with the corresponding part of Southern Banat situated on the opposite bank of the Danube, displays grouping of the finds, among which are two hoards (hoards 2 and 3; find spots 2 and 11). The isolated finds continue to appear towards the east on both banks, while three hoards occur in the very eastern periphery of the Scordiscan territory (hoards 4-6; 17, 21-22).
- 20 The distribution pattern of the coin finds closely corresponds to the distribution pattern of the La Tène archaeological sites, clustered along the Danube and Great Morava rivers²⁵. Although the connection of the coin finds with the archaeological sites cannot be confirmed, it seems quite likely that the Scordisci made some use of the coins discovered near their villages and larger settlements, because of the visible signs of wear on these coins: except for the bronzes issued during the reigns of Philip V and Perseus, the majority, both single coins and those from the hoards, and both silver and

bronze coins, exhibit a very high degree of wear. It follows that the small denominations were used by the Scordisci along with the large denominations (I shall return to the question of their use later in the text), and that the period of use of the Macedonian coins was considerably later than the period of their issue. It is not possible to determine the period of use with precision, but it was without a doubt considerably later (again, except for the coins of Philip V and Perseus).

4. The coin hoards

- 21 The hoard of bronze coins from Gloždar (hoard 1; see Table of hoards) provides an illustration of these observations²⁶. In its preserved part, the majority are the coins of Macedonian kings issued from the middle of the 4th century to ca. 316 B.C. (Philip II, Alexander III, Philip III Arrhidaeus; see the Table of hoards) by the Macedonian mints. The rest is composed of the coins of the Western Pontic cities Odessus and Mesembria, issued in the third quarter of the 3rd century or a decade later (those of Odessus). Two elements indicate a relatively late burial date of this hoard: most of the coins are very worn, particularly those of West Pontic cities; the distance between the regions of issue of the coins and that of discovery of the hoard is considerable. Accordingly, the burial date might be placed around and after ca. 230 B.C., which is about a hundred years later than the issue of Philip II's coins. Also, this hoard is the most distant find of such contents: similar mixed hoards occur in the hinterland of the West Pontic cities, in the central Thrace and in north Macedonia. Hence it seems most likely that the hoard's content arrived in the Scordiscan territory as a lot, already pre-composed in the more monetarized regions of Thrace, which would more over explain the high degree of wear.
- 22 The hoard from Gloždar reveals that the period of inflow of certain types of the Macedonian royal coins might have been considerably later than their issue, and indirect, i.e. mediated through the eastern Balkan regions. Thus far, this hoard appears isolated in its surroundings, which indicates great caution should be exercised in interpreting any of its aspects.
- 23 Six hoards of large silver coins from the territory of the Scordisci provide valuable evidence regarding the late chronology of inflow of the Macedonian royal coins and the reasons for that inflow: Krčedin²⁷, Baranda²⁸, Jabukovac²⁹, Hinova³⁰, Slana Bara³¹ and "Southern Serbia"³² (hoards 2-7; see Table of hoards for their exact contents). These hoards display a unique mixture of the tetradrachmas of three different circles of coinage³³:
- 24 1. Hellenistic royal coinages:
 - 25 – the 4th and 3rd century B.C. Macedonian royal coinages from Philip II to the Alexander-type tetradrachmas issued by Antigonus Gonatas in 272 B.C.³⁴,
 - 26 – other Hellenistic royal coinages: Lysimachean, early Seleucid and Attalid,
 - 27 2. Athenian coinage from the late 4th century until 262/261 B.C., when it was suppressed following the surrender of Athens to Antigonus Gonatas³⁵,
 - 28 3. northern Balkan barbarian imitative coinages datable to the period from the end of the 3rd to the third quarter of the 2nd century B.C.:
 - 29 – coinages whose prototype was the tetradrachma-type of Philip II, of the following types: "Huși-Vovriești", "Banat", "Adîncata-Mănăstirea" and "Jabukovac" (earlier name: "Eselohr" type)³⁶.

- 30 – coinage of the “Larissa-Amphipolis”-type, with a facing head on the obverse (similar to Apollo’s head on the coins of Amphipolis), but belonging to the same circle of barbarian coinages which appear to the north of the Danube from the Banat region in the west to the Black Sea in the east³⁷.
- 31 – unclassifiable barbarian imitations of the tetradrachma-types of Philip II, Alexander III (the imitations of his drachmas occur only in the hoard from “Southern Serbia”), Seleucus I and Antiochus I.

5. The historical background of the inflow
of Macedonian royal coins into the territory of Scordisci

- 32 The “Huși-Vovriești” coinage is the most important for the interpretation of the hoards under consideration. It occurs the most frequently, in both isolated finds and hoards, in the hinterland of the north-western coast of the Black Sea, in the valleys of the Siret and the Prut, two northern affluents of the Danube. From the second half of the 3rd century B.C. this region was inhabited by the Bastarnae – thus, the “Huși-Vovriești” coinage is attributed to them and dated to ca. 250-150 B.C. (see Map 1)³⁸. Since the immigration of this tribe into the Dardanian territory, between the Scordisci and Macedonia, is recorded by the literary sources (see further in the text), the presence of their coinage appears as the key element in the historical interpretation and dating of the hoards. Although it appears in only two of the six mixed hoards, it helps the explanation of other hoards, too.
- 33 The Bastarnae appeared in the central Balkans in connection with the military plans of Philip V of Macedonia³⁹. After the deterioration of his relations with Rome in 184 B.C., Philip V persuaded this tribe to migrate and settle in Dardania, aiming to send them later to attack Rome from the north⁴⁰. After hesitating a long time, they arrived only late in 179 B.C., when Philip V had already died, and in much smaller numbers than had been agreed (around 30,000 of warriors, which is still a considerable number). Perseus did not adhere to his father’s plans and ambitions, his negotiations with the Bastarnae failed, and they were paid only a small fraction of the sum agreed with Philip V. They however remained in Dardania, helped by the Scordisci, who were “not very different in either language or manners”⁴¹. In the winter of 176-175 B.C., when the Scordisci and some Thracian allies left for their homes, the Dardanians defeated and expelled the Bastarnae, who returned to their homeland. However, Perseus made another arrangement with the Bastarnae, and in 168 B.C. they arrived near the Macedonian frontier. The negotiations failed again, the Bastarnae were not paid and returned to their homes, devastating the lands through which they passed⁴².
- 34 There can be little doubt that the inflow of the “Huși-Vovriești” coins is connected with the movements of the Bastarnae in 179-175 and 168 B.C. The information that the Scordisci greatly helped the Bastarnae in their three years long adventure, suggests that these coins may have passed from the Bastarnae to the Scordisci as payments for provisions and services. The inflow of other barbarian coinages, originating from the Celto-Dacian regions in the east of the Scordiscan lands, might also be correlated with the movements of the Bastarnae and dated in the same short period. This at least concerns the inflow of the bulk of these coins – first, because their issuing is datable to approximately the same period as the “Huși-Vovriești” coinage, and second, because in the territory of the Scordisci only a few of these coins occurred as isolated finds out of the mentioned hoards⁴³.

- 35 On the other hand, there is no doubt that the other two components, the Hellenistic royal coins and the Athenian coins, originate from some large-scale payments of the Hellenistic kingdoms to their barbarian allies and mercenaries⁴⁴. Here arises a more difficult question: which streams of the coin inflow brought the “mercenary coins” into the hoards in question? Did they also come with the Bastarnae? Or, were there other streams of inflow, in connection with the Bastarnian adventure, or prompted by other causes? Both the numismatic and written evidence offer certain hints.
- 36 The comparable hoards containing both tetradrachms (more rarely also drachmas) of the Hellenistic kings of Macedonia, Syria, Pergamon and, sometimes, Egypt, and 3rd century Athenian tetradrachms, come from the north-western regions of the Macedonian kingdom: from Prilepec⁴⁵, in the territory of ancient Pelagonia, Bukri⁴⁶ in Lyncestis, Gevgelija⁴⁷ in Amphaxitis, and Hija e Korbit⁴⁸ in Dassaretis. Accumulated and concealed within the territory of the Macedonian kingdom, these hoards do not contain any barbarian coinage. Thus, they point to the Macedonian kingdom as the source of inflow of the mixture of Macedonian royal and Athenian coins.
- 37 Several hoards of approximately comparable contents – always with no barbarian coins – come from more distant regions of Macedonia and from mainland Greece⁴⁹. Yet, these regions are mentioned as the regions of origin of Hellenistic mercenaries, which provide the main reasons of coin inflow into them⁵⁰. Hoards of tetradrachmas of different early Hellenistic kings occur also in northern Thrace and, even larger ones along the Thracian coast of the Black Sea. They all lack not only barbarian, but also Athenian coinage and do not help the consideration of the hoards in the Scordiscan territory.
- 38 Hence, it is likely that the inflow of coins originated from the Macedonian kingdom, so the question of “when and why it might have happened” arises. A likely cause is suggested by Justin’s statement that near the end of his life Philip v made an alliance with the Scordisci⁵¹. If this indeed happened, a payment in coins to the Scordisci may be presumed, comparable to the payment agreed in the alliance of Perseus with the Illyrian king Genthius⁵², and to the payment negotiated with the Bastarnae⁵³. It may be presumed that a large sum was negotiated, because the land of the Scordisci lay on the route which the Bastarnae should have used on their way to northern Italy; moreover, the Scordisci might have joined the Bastarnae in that expedition, which rendered their assistance indispensable⁵⁴. It should be expected that this payment was in silver, because of the Scordiscan preference for that metal and their aversion from gold⁵⁵.
- 39 Thus, both the literary and numismatic evidence provide several points indicating that the main inflow of the Macedonian and other Hellenistic royal coins into the Scordiscan lands happened in the last decade of Philip v’s reign and, perhaps, during Perseus’ reign⁵⁶.
- 40 This was, however, an exceptional set of circumstances and it is also reasonable to doubt if the customary way of acquiring the precious metal was not, in fact, plundering, which is a *locus communis* in the literary sources mentioning interactions between the tribes of the Balkan hinterland and the Macedonian kingdom. But, it may be plausibly conjectured that the accustomed booty consisted mostly of livestock, slaves and utilizable objects in both metal and perishable materials, and to a much lesser extent of coins. Also, plundering cannot be considered as a very profitable way of acquiring Macedonian royal coins, because the attacks by the Scordisci started to be intense only

after Macedonia had become a Roman province, i.e. after these coins had already been taken out of circulation in the area of their origin⁵⁷.

41 There is no other indication of any direct flow of coins from Macedonia or any other Hellenistic state into the territory of the Scordisci⁵⁸. They are not attested as mercenary soldiers in the service of the Hellenistic kingdoms, who might have brought their salaries back to their homeland⁵⁹. Moreover, the internecine warfare between the Macedonian kingdom and the neighbouring Dardanian kingdom (situated between the Scordisci and Macedonia) seems to have inhibited any direct flow of the Macedonian coins northwards⁶⁰ – neither the literary sources nor the archaeological evidence provide any evidence for trade between Macedonian kingdom and the Scordisci⁶¹. The frequent raids they inflicted on the Roman province of Macedonia from the middle of the 2nd century B.C. do not seem to have been the way of acquiring the Macedonian royal coins, because these had already ceased to be in legal use in their homeland⁶².

42 In view of these elements, the military arrangements and plans of Philip V at the end of his life appear as the most probable historical background for a large inflow of the Macedonian and other Hellenistic royal coins into the lands of Scordisci, whether direct, or indirect, mediated by the Bastarnae. Hence the chronology of the most intensive inflow would be the 180's-170's B.C.

6. The Function of Macedonian royal coins in the society and economy of the Scordisci

43 It seems probable that the large Macedonian silver coins attained among the Scordisci the initial level of coin use, i.e. the function of “bullion-coinage” used for the storage of wealth, and “transaction-coinage” used for effecting large payments or transfers of wealth. This indubitably was the main practical function of the emerging barbarian coinages too, in which the large silver denominations prevail⁶³. For that reason, the large silver coins might have been considered as useful wealth even long after the moment of their inflow, and the burial dates I propose for six hoards under consideration – “around the middle of the 2nd century B.C.” – may be even later (see Table of hoards). One cannot determine precisely how much later, because after the conquest of the Macedonian kingdom by the Romans the Macedonian royal coinages most likely gradually lost their previous importance among the barbarians. However, they could still be appreciated by them, because of the high quality of their silver, and because their “face-value” was still widely recognized – thus the cities on the western Black Sea coast continued to issue their latest Alexander-type coins until the first few decades of the 1st century B.C.⁶⁴. Nevertheless, the hoards do not contain any barbarian coins issued later than the third quarter of the 2nd century B.C., so they must have been deposited soon thereafter.

44 The deep chisel gashes which appear on the majority of both the barbarian and Hellenic coins in the hoards from Krčedin, Baranda, Jabukovac and “Southern Serbia” unambiguously point to an undeveloped level of monetarization⁶⁵. The purpose of such cutting, which opens the core of the coin's flan, was almost certainly to verify the quality of the minted metal. Such an operation may be appropriate and justifiable if the coins were transferred from the region of their origin, or from the region of their secondary use, into another barbarian region, where a re-assessment was needed before they might be accepted. Since the gashing was applied to the majority of specimens of all the issuing authorities, barbarian as well as Hellenic, it seems that they all were until then unfamiliar to their Scordiscan recipients – for, if the Scordisci had

been accustomed to these coins, there would be no need for such a thorough examination of the quality of their silver. This also corroborates the supposition that their inflow, or at least its largest part, is datable to the period of reigns of Philip V and Perseus and of the movement of the Bastarnae.

45 The occurrence of coins both in hoards and stray finds permits the examination of the usage of coins by the Scordisci in light of “Gresham’s law”⁶⁶. The situation in which the large silver denominations greatly predominate in the hoards, while the small silver and bronze denominations occur almost exclusively as isolated finds, corresponds to the law that the most valuable coins are normally withdrawn from circulation and hoarded, while the less valuable denominations continue to circulate. A further indication that the small and large denominations were used together is that they both show a high degree of wear, which indicates their use was prolonged⁶⁷. The widespread use of small coins was, however, not expected in the kind of social and economic organization habitually supposed for the Scordisci: the primitive tribal structure, based on the semi-nomadic cattle breeding⁶⁸. The absence of any name of their king, chieftain, or other leader from the literary sources was taken as an indication that their society maintained a primitive decentralized tribal structure⁶⁹. This cannot be certain, but may be just a reflection of the loss of the detailed narratives in which campaigns against the Scordisci were described. In addition, the recent archaeological and related paleo-biological research have started to shed new light on the economic base of the Celtic culture, changing unavoidably the previous evaluations⁷⁰. It seems that both suppositions were mainly based on a lack of specific literary information, and influenced by the anecdotal accounts on the Celtic customs, unacceptable to the classical Greeks and Romans, such as human sacrifice⁷¹. The extant literary information concerning the organization of other Celtic groups cannot be directly employed in interpreting the Scordiscan society and economy, while the contribution of the archaeological evidence to the study of the economy of the Scordisci is minor, mainly because the archaeological record has still not been reviewed in an economic perspective⁷².

46 The numismatic evidence of the Macedonian royal coinage indicates in any case that the use of coins was widespread in the Scordiscan society. The economic and social significance of the hoards containing large silver coins is rather clear: storage of wealth reserved for use in large transactions, probably by, and among the members of the military elites, and their occurrence is not unexpected. But, more significant is the occurrence of the isolated coin finds of drachmas and bronzes. The need for “small change” is indicative of a requirement of an immediate settling of obligations, not necessarily of a commercial character, but it does not provide any specific element for the reconstruction of the Scordiscan social structure⁷³. The study of the presence of the Macedonian royal coinage among the Scordisci thus seems to have revealed a much more dynamic situation from a monetary point of view than was previously supposed, although the overall quantity of finds is not impressive.

7. The demonetization of the silver coins and reuse of their metal

47 The demonetization by melting of the Macedonian royal coins in silver may be seen as the last phase in their use. The Scordiscan sources of silver are unknown – there is no silver mine in their territory, and no traces of mining earlier than the Roman era in the neighbouring mining regions⁷⁴. Presumably the coins judged as not useful either as

“transaction coins” or “retail-payment coins”, were gradually eliminated, and the silver coins demonetized by melting. This kind of demonetization might be the cause (or one of the main causes) of the absence of the tetradrachmas of Philip V – unless his payments to his barbarian allies were effected in the “old” Macedonian silver coins (i.e. those issued towards the end of the 4th and during the 3rd century B.C.), whose “face-value” and “weight-value” were still quite acceptable⁷⁵. These “old” coins might have been even preferably exported to Philip V’s barbarian allies, who would have anyhow demonetize them by storing them as bullion, or by melting them⁷⁶. The silver obtained that way might be used not only for jewelry, but also for the local coinages, or simply in the form of raw silver as a universally valuable commodity⁷⁷.

- 48 The emergence of the Scordiscan tetradrachmas-coinage and the successive development of their fractional coinages is dated to approximately the same time. It may be plausibly supposed that the silver obtained from the Hellenistic silver coins, Macedonian and, perhaps, also some others, which have not left direct traces of their presence, facilitated the flourishing of the Scordiscan coinage in the second half of the 2nd century B.C.⁷⁸.

8. The interaction between the Macedonian Kingdom and the Scordisci

- 49 The relationship between the Macedonian Kingdom and the Scordisci may be viewed as a “core/center-periphery” interaction lasting for more than one hundred years⁷⁹. At the outset, the way for expansion of the Celts into the Balkans was opened when Alexander the Great in 335 B.C. defeated the Triballi, who until then had been the most powerful tribe in the hinterlands of the northern Balkans. In the end, the wide-ranging foreign policy and military plans of Philip V also involved the Scordisci. This whole interaction may best be viewed against the background of the major political and military events in the Hellenistic world as a whole, and its numismatic aspect interpreted within the context of the spreading of the use of coined money from the Mediterranean centers of power and wealth towards the peripheral areas in the course of warfare and plunder⁸⁰. The impact made in the 180’s and 170’s B.C. by the large inflow of the coins of the Macedonian kings on the economy and society of the Scordisci had a long-lasting consequences and reminds us that political and military factors were very important for the spread of both the issuing of the coins and their use, as was recognized already by ancient authors such as Cicero, who referred to pecunia as the “sinews of war”⁸¹.

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- 50 The numismatic material provides elements for establishing the chronology of three interrelated phases of presence of the Macedonian royal coinages in the territory of the Scordisci: the chronology of their *inflow*, their subsequent *use* and their *demonetization*.
- 51 *Dynamics of inflow of the Macedonian coinages*
- 52 The specifics of the dynamics of inflow of the Macedonian Royal coins in the territory of the Scordisci are the following:
- 53 – The overall quantity of coins which reached the territory of the Scordisci was small before the 180’s, presumably because the Dardanians, antagonistic to both the Scordisci and Macedonians, obstructed any direct coin flow from the Macedonian kingdom to the

north, and because the Scordisci seem not to have played an active role in the Hellenistic armies as mercenaries.

- 54 – The inflow of Macedonian tetradrachmas was not of the same intensity during the period from the settling down of the Scordisci in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. to 168 B.C. It seems that it was by far the most intensive in the 180's and 170's, as a result of the foreign policy of Philip V and, probably, Perseus, too.
- 55 – The coin inflow from the Macedonian kingdom in the 180's and 170's B.C. seems to have brought mostly the "old" Macedonian tetradrachmas from Philip II's tetradrachmas issued in the middle of the 4th century B.C. until Antigonos Gonatas' Alexander-type tetradrachmas issued in 272 B.C., whose "face-value" and "weight-value" were both still widely accepted, although they were issued by the former kings and despite the decrease of their weight by wear.
- 56 – It remains difficult to assess the quantity and reasons of the indirect inflow of the Macedonian coins which might have come from the eastern Balkan regions, as well as the causes and mechanisms of inflow of Macedonian bronze coins either from Macedonia itself or from the eastern Balkan regions.
- 57 *Use of Macedonian royal coins by the Scordisci*
- 58 – The high degree of wear indicates a prolonged use of all the Macedonian royal coins discovered in the territory of the Scordisci.
- 59 – The hoards, in which the Macedonian tetradrachmas are mixed with the more recent barbarian tetradrachmas (whose issuing is datable to ca. second half of the 3rd – ca. third quarter of the 2nd century B.C.), also indicate a prolonged use of the former.
- 60 – The large silver coins were used mainly as "bullion"-coins, or "transaction"-coins, for the storage of wealth and for effecting large transactions.
- 61 – The smaller denominations were also in use, which is indicated by their wear and spread. They were probably used in retail- or small-sum payments and settling of other minor obligations within the Scordiscan society.
- 62 *Demonetarization of Macedonian royal coins among the Scordisci*
- 63 – The deposition of the mixed hoards of silver coins probably occurred between ca.150 and ca. 100 B.C.
- 64 – The extensive demonetarization of Macedonian royal silver coins by their melting, i.e. their use as a source of silver either for the Scordiscan native coinages or for other purposes, might be dated from around 160 B.C. onwards.

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ZIRRA, Vlad, “Stand der Forschung der keltischen Spätlatènezeit in Rumanien”, *Archeologické Rozhledy* xxiii, 5, Praha, Akademia Véd, Archeologický Ústav, 1971, pp. 529-547.

APPENDIXES

List 1. *Macedonian kings, whose coins occur in the territory of the Scordisci*

The numbers of the find spots, enumerated in List 2, are given at the end of each line.

For the bibliography on each find see also List 2.

It is always indicated if a find is a coin hoard. The other entries concern isolated coin finds. The literature for the hoards is provided in List 3 (the list of the hoards).

The denomination of the silver coins found on each site is specified – tetradrachma or drachma.

If there is only one specimen of a certain issuing authority found as a single coin, there is no specification of quantity. Otherwise, the number of coins of the same type from a hoard, or from the same find spot, is specified. An unknown quantity of coins is denoted as (?).

Philip II (359-336 B.C.)

hoard 1, Gloždar, Paraćin; bronze, 8 of 20+; 24

hoard 3, Baranda, Southern Banat; tetradrachma, 1 of 14+; 11

hoard 6, Slana Bara, Vidin; tetradrachmas, 7 of 164+; 22

Novi Banovci, Srem; bronze; 1

District of Belgrade; bronzes, 3

Surroundings of Smederevo; bronzes, 3; 12

Surroundings of Zaječar; bronze; 18

Alexander III (336-323 B.C.)

hoard 1, Gloždar, Paraćin, bronzes, 10 of 20+; 24

hoard 2, Krčedin, Srem, tetradrachmas (life-time and posthumous until ca. 25 B.C.), 29 of 73+; 2

hoard 4, Jabukovac(?), Bor, tetradrachmas, 12 of (?); 17

hoard 5, Hinova, Turnu Severin, tetradrachmas, 5 of 62+; 21

hoard 6, Slana Bara, Vidin, tetradrachmas, 51 of 164+; 22

hoard 7, “Southern Serbia”, tetradrachmas 41, drachmas 39; 80 coins of 195+

Novi Banovci, Srem, drachma; 1

Susek, Srem, tetradrachma; 3

Surroundings of Sremska Mitrovica, (?); 5

Danube bank between Batajnica and Zemun, drachma; 8

Zemun, drachma; 10

District of Belgrade, drachmas, posthumous, 4; bronzes, 3; 7 coins

Surroundings of Smederevo, drachma; bronze; 2 coins; 12

Eastern Serbia, drachma; bronze; 2 coins

Pančevo, Southern Banat, (?); 13

Surroundings of Vršac, Southern Banat, tetradrachmas 2, drachmas, 2; 4 coins; 16

Pescari, Southern Banat, tetradrachma; 20

Surroundings of Jagodina and Paraćin, bronze; 25

Philip III Arrhidaeus (323-316 B.C.)

hoard 1, Gloždar, Paraćin, Philip III, bronzes, 2 of 20

hoard 2, Krčedin, Srem, tetradrachma, 1 of 73+; 2

hoard 6, Slana Bara, tetradrachmas, 2 of 164+; 22

hoard 7, "Southern Serbia", tetradrachmas, 2 of 195+

Kapela, Danube bank, Zemun, drachma; 9

Cassander (306-297 B.C.)

Kapela, Danube bank near Zemun, bronze; 9

District of Belgrade, bronzes, 2

Demetrius I Poliorcetes (294-288 B.C.)

hoard 2, Krčedin, Srem, tetradrachma, 1 of 73+; 2

hoard 7, "Southern Serbia", tetradrachma, 1 of 195+

Pyrrhus as the King of Macedonia (288-284 and 274-272 B.C.)

Zemun, area of the town, bronze; 10

Antigonos Gonatas (277-239 B.C.)

Site Klisina, Batajnica, Zemun, bronze; 7

District of Belgrade, bronze

Philip V (221-179 B.C.)

District of Belgrade, bronze, 2

Ravna, Knjaževac, bronze; 23

Perseus (178-168 B.C.)

District of Belgrade, bronze

Autonomous Coinage without King's Name (188/187-168/167 B.C.)

"Μαχεδόνων"

Surroundings of Novi Sad, bronze; 6

Site Klisina, Batajnica, Zemun, bronze; 7

Surroundings of Smederevo, bronze; 12

Surroundings of Zaječar, bronze; 18

Vratarnica, Zaječar, bronze; 19

Ravna, Knjaževac, bronze; 23

Amphipolis

Between Batajnica and Zemun, bronze; 20

District of Belgrade, bronze

Pella

District of Belgrade, bronzes, 5

Veluča, Glogovac, bronze; 26

Thessalonica

Surduk, Srem, bronze; 4

Site Klisina, Batajnica, Zemun, bronze; 7

District of Belgrade, bronze

“Macedonian silver coins”, “Macedonian tetradrachmas”, etc.

Kovin, Southern Banat, completely unspecified; 14

Veliko Središte, Southern Banat, tetradrachmas, issue not specified; 15

List 2. *Find spots in Map 2*

Each find-spot or find-area is listed here under just one number, even if it yielded multiple coin finds.

The numbers progress from the west to the east, on both sides of the Danube; there follow the finds situated more to the south, in the valley of Great Morava.

The abbreviation ‘Aut’ indicates specimens of the ‘Autonomous Coinage without King’s Name’ issued during the reigns of Philip V and Perseus (188/187–168/167 B.C.).

The bibliography for each find of an isolated coin is indicated in a footnote; the bibliography for hoards 1-7 is indicated in List 3 (the list of the hoards).

As in List 1, if there is only one specimen of a certain issuing authority found as a single coin, there is no specification of quantity. Otherwise, the number of coins of the same type from a hoard, or from the same find spot, is specified. An unknown quantity of coins is denoted as (?).

1. Novi Banovci, Srem; Philip II, bronze; Alexander III, drachma⁸².

2. Krčedin, Srem; hoard 2, tetradrachmas, 73+: Alexander III (life-time and posthumous until ca. 225 B.C.), 29; Philip III, 1; Demetrius Poliorcetes, 1.

3. Susek, Srem; Alexander III, tetradrachma⁸³.

4. Surduk, Srem; Aut, bronze⁸⁴.

5. Surroundings of Sremska Mitrovica; Alexander III, (?)⁸⁵.

6. Surroundings of Novi Sad, Bačka; Aut, bronze⁸⁶.

7. Site Klisina, Batajnica, Zemun; A. Gonatas, bronze; Aut, bronze; 2 coins⁸⁷.

8. Between Batajnica and Zemun; Alexander III, drachma; Aut, bronze; 2 coins⁸⁸.

9. Kapela, Danube bank, Zemun; Philip III, drachma; Cassander, bronze; 2 coins⁸⁹.
10. Zemun; Alexander III, drachma; Pyrrhus, bronze; 2 coins⁹⁰.
- The District of Belgrade; Philip II, bronze, 3; Alexander III, drachmas (1 LT and 3 PH) 4, bronzes 3; Cassander, bronze, 2; A. Gonatas, bronze; Philip V, bronze, 2; Perseus, bronze; Aut, bronze, 9; 25 coins⁹¹.
11. Baranda, Southern Banat; hoard 3, tetradrachmas, 14+: Philip II, 1.
12. Surroundings of Smederevo; Philip II, bronze, 3; Alexander III, drachma, and bronze; Aut, bronze; 6 coins⁹².
13. Pančevo, Southern Banat; Alexander III, "silver coins", (?)⁹³.
14. Kovin, Southern Banat; "Macedonian silver coins/tetradrachmas", (?)⁹⁴.
15. Veliko Središte, Southern Banat; "Macedonian tetradrachma"⁹⁵.
16. Surroundings of Vršac, Southern Banat; Alexander III, tetradrachmas 2, drachmas 2; 4 coins⁹⁶.
17. Jabukovac, Bor; hoard 4, tetradrachmas, (?): Alexander III, 12.
18. Surroundings of Zaječar; Philip II, bronze; Aut, bronze; 2 coins⁹⁷.
19. Vratarnica, Zaječar; Aut, bronze⁹⁸.
- Eastern Serbia; Alexander III, drachma, and bronze; 2 coins⁹⁹.
20. Pescari, Southern Banat; Alexander III, tetradrachma¹⁰⁰.
21. Hinova, Turnu Severin; hoard 5, tetradrachmas, 62+: Alexander III, 5.
22. Slana Bara, Vidin; hoard 6, tetradrachmas, 164+: Philip II, 7; Alexander III, 51; Philip III, 2.
23. Ravna, Knjaževac; Philip V, bronze; Aut, bronze; 2 coins¹⁰¹.
24. Gloždar, Paraćin; hoard 1, bronze, 20+: Philip II, 8; Alexander III, 10; Philip III, 2.
25. Surroundings of Jagodina and Paraćin; Alexander III, bronze¹⁰².
26. Veluća, Glogovac; Aut, bronze¹⁰³.
- "Southern Serbia"; hoard 7, tetradrachmas and drachmas, 195+: Alexander III, tetradrachmas 41, drachmas 39; Philip III, tetradrachmas, 2; Demetrius Poliorcetes, tetradrachma.

Additional numbers for the finds of Macedonian royal coins which are not taken into consideration in this study:

27. Drencova, Southern Banat; pot hoard, gold, staters, ca. 200: Alexander III.
28. Sopotul Vechi, Southern Banat; hoard, tetradrachmas, 3-5(?+): Alexander III.
29. Surroundings of Kostolac and Požarevac; Alexander III, gold, staters, 3 separately recorded specimens.
30. Vračevgaj, Southern Banat; Alexander III, gold, stater.

31. Site Davolji Most (also as Teufelsbruck), Vračevgaj, Southern Banat; Alexander III, gold, stater.

List 3. *Hoard, in a chronological sequence (see Table of coin hoards)*

Burial date ca. 230-210 B.C.

hoard 1, 24. Gloždar, Paraćin; bronze coins, Philip II, Alexander III, Philip III¹⁰⁴.

Burial date for hoards 2-7: around the middle of the 2nd century B.C. and later

hoard 2, 2. Krčedin, Srem, tetradrachmas¹⁰⁵.

hoard 3, 11. Baranda, Southern Banat, tetradrachmas¹⁰⁶.

hoard 4, 17. Jabukovac (?), Bor, tetradrachmas¹⁰⁷.

hoard 5, 21. Hinova, Turnu Severin, tetradrachmas¹⁰⁸.

hoard 6, 22. Slana Bara, Vidin, tetradrachmas¹⁰⁹.

hoard 7, "Southern Serbia", tetradrachmas and drachmas¹¹⁰.

Additional hoards, not taken into consideration in this study:

(27. hoard; Drencova, Southern Banat¹¹¹; gold, staters, ca. 200: Alexander III¹¹²).

(28. hoard; Sopotul Vechi, Southern Banat, tetradrachmas, 3-5(?+): Alexander III¹¹³).

NOTES

1. Sources mentioning the Celtic invasion and settling of the Scordisci: Pausanias, 1.4 and 10.19-23; Diodorus, 22.3-5 and 9; Justin, 24.4-8 and 32.3.6-8. For a survey on the eastward migrations of Celts in the 3rd century B.C. see M. SZABÓ, 1991, pp. 303-319 and B. CUNLIFFE, 2001, pp. 89-99.

2. The historical basis for the identification of the territory of the Scordisci is reported by Strabo, 7.5.12, with additional information in 7.2.2, and by a fragment of Posidonius quoted by Athenaeus 6.25, p. 234 B (*FrGrHist.* 87, F 48) and Justin, 32.3.8. See the discussion by F. PAPAZOGLU, 1978, pp. 360-363, and pp. 345-389 for the Scordiscan territory from their invasion until the Roman conquest. My delineation of the Scordiscan territory in Maps 1 and 2 is based on her work, and also on the archaeological evidence as discussed by J. TODORVIĆ, 1968, pp. 19-36 and pp. 83-108; 1974, pp. 158-160 and B. JOVANOVIĆ, 1987, pp. 847-850.

3. Ammianus Marcellinus 27.4.4, Festus 9.1, Orosius 5.23.17-19, Iordanes *Rom.* 219, Florus 1.39 (the Scordisci mentioned as Thracians); see F. PAPAZOGLU 1978, pp. 294-303 for commentary on these sources.

4. STRABO, 7.3.11, for the time of Burebista.

5. For the chronology of the development of the Scordiscan and other Celtic cultures in the northern Balkans and southern Pannonia see D. BOŽIĆ, 1981, *passim*, and J. TODORVIĆ, 1966, *passim*. For the characteristics of the Scordiscan culture and settlement, see B. JOVANOVIĆ, 1987, pp. 822-834, J. TODORVIĆ, 1974, *passim*, and B. JOVANOVIĆ & P. POPOVIĆ,

1991, *passim*. The articles by numerous authors in *Celti* provide a comprehensive survey of Celtic culture throughout their geographical extent, including that of the Scordisci. On the assimilation of the Scordisci with the indigenous groups see J. TODORVIĆ, 1970, *passim*.

6. Strabo, 7.5.12. However, these towns might have not yet been developed in the late 3rd and early 2nd century B.C.

7. See the distribution maps by P. POPOVIĆ 1987, pp. 47, 49, 58.

8. All the hoards and the majority of single finds have already been published; some single finds are still unpublished, but are assembled in the catalogue of my Ph.D. thesis – see the bibliography cited in the list of find spots (List 2).

9. For the negative effect of various factors see, for example, P. GRIERSON, 1965, pp. I-XIII; 1966, *passim*. T. HACKENS, 1975, pp. 217-222. P. J. CASEY, 1986, pp. 115-116; A. CHRISTOPHERSEN, 1989, pp. 1-7. A. M. BURNETT, 1991, pp. 48-52. C. HOWGEGO, 1995, pp. 88-89.

10. For the distortion and reliability of the “numismatic sample” see P. GRIERSON, 1965, pp. v-vii; similarly also A. M. BURNETT, 1991, p. 42.

11. For the representativeness of coin hoards and the kind of information they convey, see P. GRIERSON, 1965, pp. III, IX-X; 1966, p. VII; and A. M. BURNETT, 1991, pp. 52-56. The effects of “Gresham’s Law” directly concern hoarding, since the elimination of the larger denominations distorts the picture of the pool of currency: “in every country where two kinds of legal money are in circulation, the bad money always drives out the good”, and: “the coin which leaves circulation to pass into a hoard is ‘the better’ one of two or the best of three or more” – as quoted by S. P. NOE 1949, pp. 238-239.

12. For the high value of information yielded by isolated coin finds, see M. BLACKBURN, 2002, pp. 2-5, and P. GRIERSON, 1965, pp. III and XII. For a review of the significance of coin finds for understanding an ancient economy, see A. M. BURNETT, 1991, pp. 49-51.

13. For the benefits of correlating different types of finds, see P. GRIERSON, 1965, pp. IX and XII-XIII, and T. HACKENS, 1975, p. 222.

14. The posthumously issued coins in Alexander’s name are classified under his entry. See List 1 and Table of hoards for details.

15. Drencova: IGCH 400; Sopotul Vechi: IGCH 428; burial dates are cited as suggested by the editors of IGCH.

16. For the chronology of Alexander-type tetradrachmas in the Black Sea region, see M. J. PRICE, 1991, pp. 173-174.

17. See further in the text for the distribution pattern and the chronology of hoards.

18. ERCEGOVIĆ-PAVLOVIĆ, S. & KOSTIĆ, D., 1988, p. 34.

19. Trebellius Pollio, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Tyranni Triginta* 14.6.

20. There is a slight possibility that a minor inflow of gold into the Scordiscan lands occurred during the presence of the Bastarnae in Dardania – see further in the text, footnote 54.

21. In the hoards discovered inside the territory of the Macedonian kingdom, the “autonomous” coins occur approximately twice as frequently as the royal coins, see Y. TOURATSOGLOU, 1993, p. 32. However, the frequency of occurrence of these coins among the isolated finds remains unknown.

22. The Roman place-names of the sites are provided if they are considered of Celtic origin. See the review of palaeo-linguistic research by F. PAPAZOGLU 1978, pp. 368-371.

23. The catalogues of finds in J. TODORVIĆ, 1968 and 1974, and N. MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ, 1970, provide the main information on the Celtic finds from the mentioned sites and from

the whole Scordiscan territory. More recent results are added by B. JOVANOVIĆ 1987, pp. 811-825.

24.For the area of the village of Krčedin, which yielded a La Tène settlement and necropolis and another hoard consisting exclusively of barbarian coins, see V. DAUTOVA-RUŠEVLJANIN & P. POPOVIĆ, 1981, pp. 16-18. For Gloždar, the site of a La Tène necropolis dated, however, later than the deposition of the hoard, see D. UJES, 1997, p. 185. For Hinova as a La Tène site see V. ZIRRA, 1971, map on p. 603. The region of the Iron Gates yielded a variety of Celtic sites and isolated archaeological finds, too.

25.See note 5 for the literature on the settlements.

26.UJES, D., 1997, *passim*, with detailed discussion and literature.

27.POPOVIĆ, P., 1983, pp. 11-19. Lack of space allows quoting of the main bibliography only.

28.POPOVIĆ, P., 1980, pp. 171-176.

29.VUČKOVIĆ-TODOROVIĆ, D., 1970, pp. 391-403; PREDA, C., 1973, p. 138; IGCH 447; POPOVIĆ, P., 1982, pp. 13-32, proposing a burial date in accordance with the chronology of the Bastarnian coinage. This hoard was taken into account in the specialized studies by R. W. MATHISEN, 1981, pp. 82-83, 90, 119, 121, H. NICOLET-PIERRE & J. H. KROLL, 1990, p. 8 (hoard 13) and p. 27, but, considering this and the hoard from “Southern Serbia” as the same find, and Y. TOURATSOGLU, 1998, p. 87.

30.DIMITRIU, S. & ILIESCU, O., 1959, pp. 261-276, 305, 308-309; PREDA, C., 1973, pp. 137, 139, 141; IGCH 452.

31.IGCH 454.

32.The find spot of the hoard from “Southern Serbia” is unknown. V. J. HUNTER, 1967, p. 17, proposed Zemun, but there is no reason for that, especially since B. HORVAT, 1936, p. 135, clearly stated that this hoard was found in the district of Southern Serbia and offered for selling in 1925 in Skopje, its capital. P. POPOVIĆ, 1982, pp. 14-15, identified it with the hoard from Jabukovac which, however, does not contain the drachmas and differs in other details. However, the hoard was quite certainly concealed outside the territory of the Macedonian kingdom, because it contains specimens of the barbarian coinages that do not appear in any hoard from the Macedonian kingdom, but do appear in the territory of the Scordisci. For that reason the hoard from “Southern Serbia” is included in my list of evidence. K. PINK, 1939, pp. 67-68; V. J. HUNTER, 1967, pp. 17-40; C. PREDA, 1973, p. 138; ICGH 458, as the hoard from Zemun; R. W. MATHISEN, 1981, pp. 83, 119, as the “Serbia” hoard; P. POPOVIĆ, 1982, pp. 13-39; H. NICOLET-PIERRE & J. H. KROLL, 1990, pp. 8, 27, treating as one find the contents of the hoard from Jabukovac and this find.

33.There is no hoard of analogous content, except for that from Chişineu Criş (formerly Kisjenö, northern Banat, neighbouring the Scordisci), dated to ca. 150 B.C. IGCH 459; K. Pink 1939, 35 and C. Preda 1973, 119, 123, 397, concerning the barbarian coinage only. The hoards from Baranda and Hinova do not contain Athenian coins. Moreover, the hoard from Baranda contains only one coin of the royal coinages: a posthumous tetradrachma of Philip II. However, the mixture of coinages attaches both these hoards to the same group. None of these hoards is entirely preserved.

34.For the chronology of Antigonus Gonatas’ Alexander-type tetradrachmas, see R. W. MATHISEN, 1981, p. 119.

35.NICOLET-PIERRE, H. & KROLL, J., 1990, *passim*, with a reconsideration of the Hellenistic royal coinages in the hoards from Krčedin, Jabukovac and “Southern Serbia”. More

recent burial dates, lower than in the IGCH, were proposed for these hoards on the basis of a re-assessment of the chronology of the Athenian coinage, *ibidem* 8-9, 25, 27. Yet, these dates are still too early if the chronology of the barbarian issues is concerned, which is remarked in *ibidem*, 25.

36.For the coinages “Huși-Vovriești”, “Banat” and “Adâncata-Mănăstirea”, see C. PREDA, 1973, pp. 113-131, 55-59 and pp. 198-214 respectively. For “Jabukovac”, see P. POPOVIĆ, 1987, p. 78.

37.See the bibliography for the hoard from Hinova in List 3.

38.For the attribution of this coinage to the Bastarnae on the basis of written and archaeological sources, see C. PREDA, 1973, pp. 127-129. The chronology of this coinage proposed by Preda on pp. 129-131 is based on the following elements: a) its close stylistic resemblance to its prototype, Philip II's tetradrachma, b) its weight standard (ca. 13,40-14,90 g), comparable to that of the earliest imitative issues, and c) its degree of wear, which is usually higher even than that of the Hellenistic royal tetradrachmas.

39.Information on Philip V's plans for a war against Rome, his negotiations with the Bastarnae, their migration into the Balkans and stay for three years in the Dardanian lands, and their collaboration with the Scordisci, is provided by Livy 39.35, 40.5, 40.21, 40.57-58, 41.19, 41.23, 42.11, and Polybius 25.6. For the Bastarnae in the Balkans and the foreign policy of Philip V and Perseus, see G. T. GRIFFITH 1935, p. 76, F. W. WALBANK, 1967, pp. 236-255, P. MELONI, 1953, pp. 38-39 and 78-89, 329-333, E. S. GRUEN, 1979, pp. 231-245, M. LAUNY, 1987, pp. 418-421, F. PAPAZOGLU, 1978, pp. 161-169, 281-282 et 479. The Bastarnae are commonly considered a Germanic tribe, but sometimes they are reckoned among the Celts, as, for instance, by *Celti*. C. PREDA, 1973, p. 130, considers them as a “mixed Celto-Bastarnian tribe”. The ancient authors mention them as Galatae (Polybius, 25.6), Galli (Livy, 44.26), *barbari ... accolae Histri fluminis* (Livy, 39.35), Getae (Appian, *Mac.* 18.1-3), Peucini (Tacitus, *Germania* 46.1), Thracians (Florus, 1.39), but it is clear from their narratives that they mean the Bastarnae.

40.Livy's report that Philip V's planned to send the Bastarnae to attack Italy from the north has sometimes been considered incorrect or merely based on Roman propaganda (thus F. WALBANK, 1967, p. 237, and HAMMOND, 1988, p. 468). However, F. PAPAZOGLU, 1978, p. 163, thoroughly discussed Philip's intentions to defeat once and for all the perpetually hostile Dardanians and to attack the Romans in Italy, and concluded that it was quite possible that he shared the same idea which Hannibal had first and, later, Mithridates VI. Whether Philip V planned to attack the Romans that way or not, he certainly provoked the move of the Bastarnae into the Balkans.

41.Livy, 40.57.

42.Livy, 44.27.1-3. See also footnote 52.

43.See C. PREDA, 1973, the catalogues of finds and maps of distribution of all the coinages in question.

44.POPOVIĆ, P., 1980, 1982, 1983, and 1987, did not propose any particular interpretation of the presence of the Hellenistic royal coinages in these mixed hoards. R. W. MATHISEN, 1981, p. 119, supposed that the hoard from “Southern Serbia” (mentioned as the “Serbia” hoard) represents a “payment to Gallic and Illyrian mercenaries who fought for Antigonus Doson at Sellasia in 222 (Polybius, 2.65)”, because of the presence of Antigonus Gonatas' Alexander-type tetradrachmas in this hoard.

45.VUČKOVIĆ-TODOROVIĆ, D., 1958, pp. 213-255.

46.MIKULČIĆ, I., 1973, pp. 157-159.

47. MIKULČIĆ, I., 1973, p. 159.

48. GJONGEČAJ, S., 1985, pp. 167-209.

49. These hoards are too numerous to be quoted here. Alexander III's silver coins, the primary element in all these hoards, are discussed by Y. TOURATSOGLOU, 1998, pp. 80-101; the secondary element, Athenian 3rd century coinage, is discussed by H. NICOLET-PIERRE & J. H. KROLL, 1990, *passim*. In fact, only a few of the hoards discussed by these authors are comparable with the hoards examined here.

50. See M. LAUNEY, 1987, pp. 144-229, especially pp. 212-223 – “Les Thessaliens”.

51. Justin, 32.3.5: “*Nam et Gallos Scordiscos ad belli societatem perpulerat...*”. See the commentaries by F. W. WALBANK, 1967, p. 237, and F. PAPAZOGLU, 1978, pp. 164, 281 and 465.

52. Polybius, 29.4.7 and Livy, 44.23, on the agreement between Perseus and Illyrians; however, of the agreed 300 talents of silver, only 10 were given to Genthius: Livy, 44.27.

53. The agreement with the Bastarnae concerned gold coins – besides Livy, 44.26.4, see also Appian, *Mac.*, 18.2-3. More precisely, ten gold coins should have been paid to each cavalryman, five to each infantryman and one thousand for their leader. According to Diodorus, 30.19 and Appian, *Mac.*, 18.2-3, this totaled ca. 151 000 staters, or approximately 500 talents of gold. See M. LAUNEY, 1987, p. 761 and P. MELONI, 1953, p. 331, note 3, for calculations of “*χρυσοῦς*” for the Bastarnae. However, Perseus did not keep to this agreement, which was interpreted by ancient historians as a sign of his avarice – Livy, 44.26.12 and 44.27.1 and Plutarch, *Aem. Paul.*, 12.4-6 – although it is more probable that it happened because of mutual mistrust and suspicion, as suggested by P. MELONI, 1953, pp. 333-335. Instead of the agreed payment, Perseus sent his gifts to the Bastarnae – Livy, 44.26.9 and Appian, *Mac.*, 18.2; Appian however mentions 10.000 staters among the gifts, but it seems that the Bastarnae did not accept them.

54. According to Livy 40.57.5-9.

55. According to Posidonius, as quoted by Athenaeus, 6.23-25, p. 234 B-C (*FrGrHist* 87, F 48), the Scordisci considered the gold stolen from the Greek shrines to be the cause of the disasters they suffered on their return to the north and thereafter they did not import gold into their land; see the comment by F. PAPAZOGLU, 1978, p. 465. This information considerably diminishes the probability that the finds of Alexander III's gold coins in List 2 might be dated to the Scordiscan epoch – more probably they might be connected to the epoch prior to the Celtic invasion. There is no information that the Dacians or Thracians abominated gold for any reason, but their contemporary coinages were also only in silver and the finds of other objects in gold are rare.

56. According to Plutarch, *Aem. Paul.*, 9, Perseus adhered to Philip V's military plans.

57. The plundering of the coins from the province of Macedonia should have resulted in hoards of the currently employed coins of the First Macedonian *Meris* – but only a few isolated specimens of this coinage have altogether been discovered in the Scordiscan territory and no hoard. However, see the further discussion of the demonetization of the coins and the question of the origin of the minted silver among the Scordisci.

58. Situated in the distant Balkan hinterland, the Scordisci were not in a position to impose any tribute similar to that paid by the cities of the western Black Sea coast to the Celts from Tylis or to the Thracians (Polybius, 4.46.3), which would have brought the coins to them.

59. The Scordisci are not mentioned as mercenaries in any extant literary source, as emphasized by F. PAPAZOGLU, 1978, p. 465. Yet, in some instances they are referred to as

“Γαλάται”, and their country as “κάτω Γαλατία” (Plutarch, *Aem. Paul.*, 9) – hence it cannot be excluded that they were reckoned among the Celts, without their specific tribal name being mentioned.

60. Despite the mention of frequent raids by the Dardanians into the territory of the Macedonian kingdom, the finds of Macedonian as well as any other Hellenistic royal coins are extremely rare in the Dardanian territory, and no hoard has yet been recorded. The monopoly in the salt-trade conceded to them after the defeat of Macedonia in 168 B.C. by Aemilius Paullus (Livy, 45.29.13) also did not leave any trace in coin finds. Moreover, there is no local coinage attributable to them. The almost complete lack of pre-Roman coin finds in the Dardanian lands needs more thorough investigation, which cannot be effected in this article.

61. Unlike the eastern Balkan regions and Dacia, there is no literary mention of the slave trade among either the Dardanians or the Scordisci.

62. For the literary sources on Scordiscan raids into the Roman province of Macedonia, see footnote 3. After the middle of the 2nd century, the Macedonian royal silver issues disappear from circulation in the territory of the Macedonian kingdom:

Y. TOURATSOGLOU, 1993, p. 32. Also, ca. 175-150 B.C. is the latest date at which the silver coins of Alexander III appear in hoards in Macedonia and mainland Greece: see

Y. TOURATSOGLOU, 1998, pp. 71-72.

63. Regarding the interpretation of the function of standardized barbarian coinages in the neighbouring regions, see C. PREDA, 1973, p. 25, who considers exchange and payment as the main practical function of the Daco-Getic coinages. Conversely, the functional interpretation of the appearance of Celtic coinage in Britain by J. R. COLLIS, 1971, pp. 71-73, considers that the primary function of high-value coins was storage of wealth and exchange or transfer of that wealth for social prestige – which generally appears as far more justifiable and analogous to the situation with the Scordisci. See also M. H. CRAWFORD, 1985, p. 229, for a similar interpretation of the function and use of both the local-barbarian and the Hellenic coins in the Lower Danube basin, where the entire economic situation is, however, specific and more advanced than the situation in the territory of the Scordisci. For the “transaction-coinage”, see P.-J. CASEY, 1986, pp. 17-18.

64. CALLATAÏ, F. de, 1994, *passim*, concerning Odessus and Mesembria. However, these coins are not attested in the Scordiscan territory.

65. In the short notes in IGCH 454 on the hoard from Slana Bara, there is no information if the coins were chisel gashed. It should, however, be noted that gashing is a usual feature of the “Huși-Vovriești” type: PREDA, C., 1973, pp. 113-116.

66. For the universally valid “Gresham’s law”, see footnote 11.

67. LE RIDER, G., 1988, pp. 78-79, has demonstrated that in certain cases Alexander III’s drachmas remained in use over 150 years and were deposited only ca. 150-125 B.C., despite the considerable loss of weight due to wear (e.g. in the hoard from Susa). This example belongs to a different monetary context, but the reassessment of the chronology of use based on estimation of wear may be adopted regardless of limitations of the available evidence from the Scordiscan territory. The long survival of Alexander III’s drachmas is also indicated by the presence of very worn specimens (with their weight below 4 gr) in the hoard from “Southern Serbia”, see the catalogue by V. J. HUNTER, 1967.

68.For suppositions that the fundamental economic activity of most of the paleo-Balkan populations before the Roman conquest, including the Scordisci, was semi-nomadic cattle breeding, see F. PAPAZOGLU, 1978, pp. 473-474. This opinion must be changed in light of the results of more recent research, but the discussion cannot be further developed here; see footnote 70. However, the idea that a society whose wealth was mainly derived from cattle-raising (which was necessarily semi-nomadic in the ancient and medieval Balkans) would be so primitive that its people would not use coins, does not seem plausible. For instance, Alexander the Great had to remind his soldiers in Opis, on the occasion of their disobedience, that they had been just poor herdsmen who had difficulty defending their small flocks from the Illyrians, Triballians and the neighbouring Thracians, before his father made them a great power (Arrian, *Anab.* 7.9.2-3); however, the Macedonian kingdom had its own precious and base metal coinage already long before Philip II.

69.Thus F. PAPAZOGLU, 1978, pp. 446-447. *Bathanattos* is the only mentioned name: Posidonius quoted by Athenaeus 6.25, p. 234 B (*FrGrHist.* 87, F 48). He was a military chief who gathered together various Celtic groups scattered after their return from the south in 279 B.C. and led them in what became their new homeland.

70.See, for instance, S. BÖKÖNYI, 1991, pp. 429-435 for palaeo-zoological research on the cattle-breeding by the Celts, and H. KÜSTER, 1991, pp. 246-248, for palaeo-botanical research on their agriculture.

71.For the practice of human sacrifice by the Scordisci, see Festus, 9.1 and Orosius, 5.23.18, and the discussion by F. PAPAZOGLU, 1978, pp. 507-513. The discoveries of group inhumations of slaughtered individuals in Gomolava (indicated in Map 2) and Gordion indicate the existence of such rituals at two distant points of the Celtic world, see B. JOVANOVIĆ & M. JOVANOVIĆ, 1988, pp. 53-58, and J. R. DANDOY, P. SELINSKY & M. M. VOIGT, 2002, pp. 44-49. There is no essential opposition between having a highly organized society and practicing human sacrifice (cf. the gladiatorial contests at Roman funeral games, or the Aztecs).

72.STRABO, 12.5.1, described the organization of the “κοινὸν Γαλατῶν” as a tetrarchic confederation, with a tetrarch at the head of each tribe, a judge, a military head and two officers, and an assembly of 300 persons. The excavations of Gordion revealed an unexpectedly high level of the Celtic material culture, but the archaeological remains at Gomolava, or any other large Scordiscan settlement, are by no means similar to Gordion, see the previous footnote for literature. For a review of knowledge of the structure and organization of Celtic society, see A. DUVAL, 1991, pp. 485-490, and also B. CUNLIFFE, 2001, pp. 119-121, the latter based mostly on information from Caesar’s *De Bello Gallico*.

73.See CASEY, P. J., 1986, 47-49, on the difficulties of inferring the organization of a society from a set of numismatic data where there is little other historical evidence, especially regarding the possibility of putting forward quite diverging explanations of the emergence and expansion of issuing and use of small denominations, on the basis of the same set of data.

74.PINK, K., 1939, p. 128, supposed that the Scordisci might have exploited the silver mines of Srebrenica (in eastern Bosnia), which in Roman times was called Domavia. But the Scordisci never inhabited that territory, where there are no traces of mining before the 1st century after Christ, see S. DUŠANIĆ, 1977, pp. 52-94.

75. For the acceptability of tetradrachmas weighing less than 17,00 g after c. 200 B.C. and a later reduction of 8% of the weight standard of the tetradrachmas of Perseus, and some related changes in other synchronous royal coinages, see M. J. PRICE, 1991, p. 44.
76. Cf. C. HOWGEGO, 1995, p. 104, on the exportation of “old” Roman coins to distant regions outside of the Roman empire, where they would be used as bullion.
77. There are two hoards attesting the re-use of demonetized silver, from Stancuța, Rumania (IGCH 662), see also C. PREDA, 1957, pp. 113-124, and Belica, Bulgaria (IGCH 976). They contain silver coins, ingots and other small objects made out of coins, and are datable to the 1st century B.C.
78. POPOVIĆ, P., 1987, pp. 39-41, on the coinage of “Srem” (“Syrman”) group, which has the smaller denominations, too. On p. 68, he mentions without discussion the possibility that the Scordisci melted Hellenistic silver coins to re-use the metal.
79. For the “core/center-periphery” approach in interpreting the interaction between the Mediterranean and inland cultures, see M. ROWLANDS, M. LARSEN & K. KRISTIANSEN (eds.), 1987, especially the articles by K. RANDSBORG, 1993, pp. 86-123, on some economic aspects of that interaction, and by L. HANNESTAD, 1993, pp. 15-38, for the interaction between the Celts and the Hellenistic world. For a critical review of this approach, see J. K. DAVIES, 2001, pp. 40-42.
80. Along these lines, see Y. GARLAND, 1972, pp. 202-203; M. M. AUSTIN, 1986, pp. 464-466.
81. CICERO, *Philippics* 5.5.
82. Unpublished; both coins from Novi Banovci are kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (AMZagreb in further footnotes); I am grateful to Dr. Velika Dautova-Ruševljanin, former Keeper of Antiquities in that museum, for information on the coins from the territory of Vojvodina kept in AMZagreb.
83. Unpublished, AMZagreb.
84. Unpublished, AMZagreb.
85. Unpublished, AMZagreb.
86. Unpublished, Museum of Vojvodina.
87. CRNOBRNJA, N. & UJES, D., 2000, n° 29 (A. Gonatas) and n° 11 (autonomous).
88. CRNOBRNJA, N. & UJES, D., 2000, n° 6 (Alexander III PH) and 34 (autonomous).
89. CRNOBRNJA, N. & UJES, D., 2000, n° 24 (Philip III) and 26 (Cassander).
90. CRNOBRNJA, N. & UJES, D., 2000, n° 18 (Alexander III PH), and 33 (Pyrrhus).
91. CRNOBRNJA, N. & UJES, D., 2000, n° 12-14 (Philip II), n° 17 (Alexander III LT), n° 15, 19-20 (PH), n° 21-23 (bronzes), n° 25, 27 (Cassander), n° 28 (A. Gonatas), n° 30-31 (Philip V), 32 (Perseus), n° 3-10 and 34 (autonomous).
92. Unpublished, Museum in Smederevo.
93. BERKESZI, I., 1907, p. 32; MEDELET, F., 1995, n° 108-D, E.; UJES, D. & BAKIĆ, L., 1996, pp. 25, 27.
94. MILLEKER, B., 1897, p. 74; BERKESZI, I., 1907, p. 25 (as Temes Kubin); MILEKER, F., 1929, p. 182; MEDELET, F., 1995, n° 77-A; UJES, D. & BAKIĆ, L., 1996, p. 25.
95. UJES, D. & BAKIĆ, L., 1996, p. 23. The issuer is not specified, but this coin was certainly not a barbarian imitation, because it would have been recorded as such by Felix Milleker, who actually registered “one Macedonian tetradrachma” in the Inventory Book of the Museum in Vršac at 16.9.1910, n° 92; the place name of the find spot appears as Nagy Szrediste in accordance with the former (Hungarian) nomenclature.
96. MILLEKER, B., 1897, p. 151; BERKESZI, I., 1907, p. 46; MEDELET, F., 1995, n° 158-B; UJES, D. & BAKIĆ, L., 1996, p. 24.

97. Unpublished, Museum in Zaječar.
98. Unpublished, Museum in Zaječar.
99. Unpublished, National Museum in Belgrade.
100. MILLEKER, B., 1906, p. 42; BERKESZI, I., 1907, p. 13; place name as Coronini and Lászlóvár.
101. JANKOVIĆ-MIHALDŽIĆ, D., 1985, n° 6 and 19.
102. Unpublished, Museum in Jagodina.
103. Unpublished, Museum in Jagodina.
104. UJES, D., 1997, pp. 185-204.
105. DAUTOVA-RUŠEVLJANIN, V. & POPOVIĆ, P., 1981, 17; POPOVIĆ, P., 1983, 11-19; 1987, pp. 54-59, 80-83, 143; NICOLET-PIERRE, H. & KROLL, J. H., 1990, pp. 4, 8, 15, 20, 25.
106. POPOVIĆ, P., 1980, pp. 171-176.
107. VUČKOVIĆ-TODOROVIĆ, D., 1970, pp. 391-403; PREDA, C., 1973, p. 138; IGCH 447; MATHISEN, R. W., 1981, pp. 83, 90, 119, 12; POPOVIĆ, P., 1982, pp. 13-32 (arguing that this and the hoard from "Southern Serbia" were the same large find); POPOVIĆ, P., 1987, pp. 39, 41-44, 70, 72, 78-79; NICOLET-PIERRE, H. & KROLL, J. H., 1990, p. 8, n° 13 and 27 (considering this and the hoard from Southern Serbia as the same find); TOURATSOGLOU, Y., 1998, p. 87.
108. PINK, K., 1939, p. 66; DIMITRIU, S. & ILIESCU, O., 1959, pp. 261-276, 305, 308-309; PREDA, C., 1973, p. 137, 139, 141; IGCH 452; POPOVIĆ, P., 1982, pp. 20-21 and 1987, p. 60.
109. GERASIMOV, T., 1943, pp. 284-285; IGCH 454.
110. SARIA, B., 1927, p. 11; 1928, pp. 89-90; PINK, K., 1939, pp. 67-68; HUNTER, V. J., 1967, pp. 17-40, locating unfoundedly the find spot of this hoard in Zemun; VUČKOVIĆ-TODOROVIĆ, D., 1970, p. 403; PREDA, C., 1973, p. 138, treating it as the "Zemun" hoard; ICGH 458, accepting Zemun as the find spot; R. W. MATHISEN, 1981, pp. 83, 119; POPOVIĆ, P., 1982, pp. 13-32; 1987, pp. 41-44, 60, 70, 72-73, 78-79, but referring to it as "the hoard from Jabukovac"; NICOLET-PIERRE, H. & KROLL, J. H., 1990, n° 13, p. 8 and 27, as "the hoard from Jabukovac".
111. First mentioned by B. MILLEKER, 1897, p. 36; IGCH 400; recently reappraised by F. MEDELEȚ, 1995, n° 45, and Y. TOURATSOGLOU, 1998, p. 81, n° 5.
112. MILLEKER, B., 1897, p. 36; BERKESZI, I., 1907, p. 17; IGCH 400; MEDELEȚ, F., 1995, n° 45. TOURATSOGLOU, Y., 1998, p. 81, n° 5.
113. MILLEKER, B., 1897, p. 101; IGCH 428; MEDELEȚ, F., 1995, n° 128.

ABSTRACTS

From the expansion of the Macedonian kingdom during the reigns of Philip II and Alexander the Great in the second half of the 4th century B.C. until its dismembering by the Romans in 167 B.C., the inflow of the Macedonian royal coinage continually played the principal role in the monetarization of the economies of the tribes in the interior of the Balkans. The objective of this article is to examine the emergence of this coinage in the territory of the Scordisci, a north-

Balkan Celtic tribe, attempting to integrate the numismatic material into the study of the political and economic history of the tribes in the interior of the Balkans.

La monnaie royale macédonienne dans les Balkans. Afflux et usage dans le territoire des Scordisques.

Entre l'expansion du royaume macédonien sous les règnes de Philippe II et d'Alexandre-le-Grand au cours de la seconde moitié du 4^e siècle avant J.C. et son démembrement par les Romains en 167 avant J.C., l'importation des monnaies royales macédoniennes joua un rôle majeur dans la monétarisation des économies tribales des zones intérieures des Balkans. L'objet de cette étude est d'analyser le développement de ce monnayage dans le territoire des Scordisques (un peuple celte des Balkans septentrionaux) en considérant le matériel numismatique dans le cadre de l'histoire politique et économique des peuples de cette région.

INDEX

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Chronological index: Antiquité

Geographical index: Europe orientale

AUTHOR

DUBRAVKA UJES

Blagoja Parovića 10-A, 11030 Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

dudaujes@hotmail.com